1: Ammar E. 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

An oil-press was also started twenty years ago by a stranger from Koun, and he is still referred to as Kounsy. At the beginning of every summer, the shop used to press oil from the locally grown sesame (simsim). Five years later the Omda (headman of the village) started another oil-press in competition, and this for some time gave rise to gossip concerning the Omda's prestige in competing with the stranger. But during the last war, as a result of rationing the oil, the flourishing undertakings closed, being unable to come up to the hygienic requirements of the regulations and the government controls.

Besides these specialized occupations there are two other occupations undertaken by families from the village, namely weaving and hair-cutting. The two families of weavers, with their old-fashioned looms, supply all the village women with their woollen cover (worn on going outside and also used as a blanket at night). They also weave the outer garments of the older generation of men (zabut), which they wear in winter, while the younger generation is gradually abandoning the homespun and woven wool for the factory-made cloth.[1]

For the last three generations these families of weavers and barbers have been carrying on with their occupations, as they possess no land. The same applies to two families of fishermen; one of these relies entirely on fishing, while the other follows it as a supplementary occupation to farming.

Midwifery, and undertaking, are also specialized pursuits which have been carried on in the same families for a long time. The same is true of the offices of the priest and of the Sheikh of the village school (Kuttab).

From such a survey it can be seen that the specialized occupations such as carpentry, milling, pottery, and shopkeeping have been introduced by outsiders, who, though performing an important function in the village economic life, have not been entirely accepted by the villagers as fully-fledged members of the community. Immediately one of the villagers themselves engages in any of these occupations, however, this particular occupation is brought into a more conscious level of evaluation. As long as strangers alone pursue a particular task or occupation, the villagers are indifferent to, or deprecate, the value-prestige of that job. Yet if another villager can show that the job is as paying and rewarding as farming, then other villagers may entertain the idea of competing with him. The reluctance to embark on anything but farming is partly due to the fact that the specialized jobs mentioned have been started by outsiders. Moreover, there is no scope for much specialization of occupations, as an appreciable amount of this is done by the various members of the household. Barter, milling, basket- and mat-making, and even a crude type of building is being carried on by every household. It is the landless people who can only gain their living by working as craftsmen or traders. It is true that, as the technical skill required for specialized occupations is transmitted through the kinship lines, it is not surprising to find that most of these jobs

[1] Women do the spinning for the cloth from the sheep's fleece.

consist of a red, pink or varicoloured petticoat and wide coloured drawers. The *fellaha* does her own rather clumsy sewing, but the cloth is bought.

The cotton stuffs, calicos and other fabrics used for the fellah's clothing come mostly from Japan, Italy and India. Imports from other countries are becoming more and more insignificant as the Egyptian weaving industry develops. The indigo or black dyes are produced in the country, and all the clothes are made up in Egypt. *Gallabiyas* and dresses are made to measure; shirts, drawers, waistcoats and caps are ready-made. Jewish commission agents often undertake to supply the big villages with the necessary quantities of material or ready-made clothes. The goods are sold just before the big feasts. The old wool-spinners and local weavers provide only a small part of the total supply (41).

The dullness of the women's attire is relieved by striking ornaments. Round the neck they wear strings of big yellow or blue beads; on their wrists a number of bracelets made, according to wealth or fancy, of glass, silver or even gold; on their ankles the *kholkhal*, a massive anklet of bronze, silver or gold, which takes the place of our wedding ring and must always be worn by a married woman. Everything else may be sold, but not this. If there is a bereavement in the family a woman lays aside her ear-rings, necklaces, and bracelets; the *kholkhal* she takes off only on the death of her lord and master. The women never wear socks or stockings, but sometimes use sandals or slippers like the men.

This strikingly simple clothing betokens an old civilisation and a supple adaptability to climate and practical needs. The fellah's loose, simple clothes permit him to breathe easily and to move freely. They keep the outlines of the human form in harmony with the countryside. On the other hand, they are dark-coloured and hot — the head-dress and the women's clothes at least — so that they absorb the sun's heat instead of reflecting it. Their excessive length hinders walking and stirs up the dust. However, the advantages outnumber the disadvantages, and the habits which have retained such a costume so long unchanged show a deep-rooted wisdom.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

THE VILLAGES AND THEIR INHABITANTS

The villages are intersected by narrow lanes—in most cases they can hardly be dignified by the name of streets—progress along which is often impeded, sometimes almost entirely blocked, by piles of refuse and mud. In some of the larger villages there may be one or two broader streets, forming the chief thoroughfares (Fig. 8). At the side of one of the narrow lanes there may be an open space in which palm-trees grow (Fig. 9), and here the village weaver often arranges the warp for his cloth, the threads being attached to the trunks of two of the trees (Fig. 10). When this process is completed the warp is taken indoors and attached to the

FIG. 8. A VILLAGE STREET

loom, which usually stands in a somewhat dark room, with mud-coloured walls, and so small in size that it is impossible to obtain a satisfactory photograph.

Itinerant vendors ply their trades up and down these tortuous village lanes, uttering their characteristic cries. For example, the onion-seller advertises his wares by calling out, "Oh, onion, sweet as honey!" The cries are usually intoned in a minor key, sounding to the uninitiated more like a plaintive chant than the proclamation of goods for sale. Another hawker may trade in coloured cotton cloths, printed with various designs to suit all tastes. He usually conveys his goods about on a small hand-cart. From such humble beginnings more than one fortune has been made, for the peasants are fond of hoarding their money, their daily living costing them but little. In time the small sums thus

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

there are three or four such buildings. Five times a day a *mueddin* chants the call to prayer from each mosque—from the minaret if there is one—and the resonant voices of these officiants may be heard far beyond the confines of the village.

An old graveyard often stands in the middle of a village, probably indicating the older boundary, the houses built beyond it having been erected later owing to the increasing population (see below, p. 72 and Fig. 32). A whitewashed building, crowned with

FIG. 10. WARP-THREADS ATTACHED TO PALM-TREES

a dome, stands, perhaps, on the highest point of the burial-ground, indicating the last resting-place of a sheikh, or holy man, or, at any rate, erected in his honour. Candles are usually lighted in the building on "the night of Friday"—*i.e.*, the night preceding the Friday—in commemoration of the sheikh. Such lights are, in most cases, the only illumination out of doors to guide the late wayfarer. These buildings, and there are often several in or around one village, are prominent architectural features, standing up with their whitewashed walls and domes above, and in glaring contrast to, the mud houses and hovels of the peasants.

Shops of different kinds are situated in the wider streets or lanes,

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

A child under eight years of age may suddenly begin to shake all over, gasping, and catching at its throat, as if it could not breathe. When this happens the grandmother, or, if there is no grandmother, a neighbour, is called in, and she takes the child, or, if there is more than one child under eight years of age, each one in turn, on to her lap and folds her *gallabīyeh* (native dress) over it. Then she takes a spindle and the implement (*maḥalleh*) on to which the wool is wound after it is spun, and winds the wool on to it; if there is no wool she will simulate the action of winding.

FIG. 32. RUINED GRAVES, IN THE APERTURES OF WHICH CHILDREN ARE PLACED WHEN AFFECTED BY THE MOTHER'S ḲARĪNEH

Then she will break both the spindle and the *maḥalleh*, and the child will recover.

A woman's *ḳarīneh* may sometimes perform a kindly action, for a certain woman who is related to a man whom I know always declares that her *ḳarīneh* is very good to her. This woman has ten boys and two girls, and she is a widow and very poor. Her *ḳarīneh*, so she says, often comes to her when she is short of money and cannot do anything to help herself or her children. On one occasion when she was in this plight she heard her *ḳarīneh* call her by name three times while she was sleeping at night. Her *ḳarīneh* then took her by the hand and led her down the street in which she lived. When she got to the end of it the *ḳarīneh* put some money in her hand and left her. The woman then returned to her house.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Siwans MR14

F 285 415

nails or fastenings of any kind are used. The lid is made in a similar way. I always have my kitchen utensils and stores packed in such baskets when travelling from village to village, as they have the advantage of being light in weight as well as durable.

Beds, chairs, and small tables are made of the same material and in a similar way to the *ḫafaṣ*.

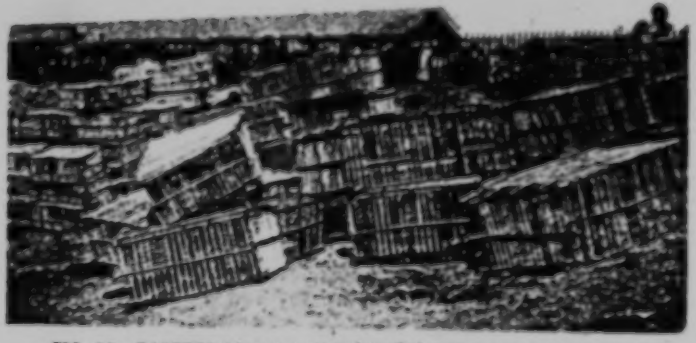
Native rope is usually made out of the fibre of the palm-trunk (*līf*). The *līf* is picked over and torn into strips, which are twisted into a cord between the palms of the hands (Fig. 91 and Frontispiece). There is a large rope-making industry in Fayūm Province, and the ropes made in this village are traded over a large area.

F 352
F 083
S [085]

FIG. 89. VARIOUS BASKETS: TRAY (AT BACK), FRUIT-BASKET (IN CENTRE), BASKET FROM SIWEH (ON RIGHT)

F 286 344

Strong woollen cloth is woven in a great many villages, but the weaving of finer materials, such as silk, is mostly



F [085 417]

FIG. 90. BASKETS OF PALM-RIBS (AKFĀṢ) FOR SALE IN A MARKET

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

286
344

confined to a few localities, where such work is done by specialists.

The looms are usually set up indoors, but, though hand-worked, they cannot be said to be very simple or primitive, and I feel that I must devote a great deal more study to the methods of working them before describing them in detail.[1]

283
291
492
516
857

FIG. 91. YOUTH MAKING ROPE

Very small looms are used for weaving narrow bands or for adding borders to silk handkerchiefs (Fig. 92).

Looms such as are used by the Arab women for the weaving of carpets are of a more primitive type. They consist of four pegs driven into the ground, on which the warp is extended, and two stones on which the heddle is balanced (Fig. 93). An excellent description of such a loom has been given by Mrs Crowfoot in *Sudan Notes and Records*.[2] The carpets and rugs woven on these simple looms are very strong and durable, and the colouring is quite attractive.

Spinning is, so far as I have yet observed, more often done

[1] For an excellent photograph and description of a modern upright loom see A. C. Mace, *Ancient Egypt* (1922), pp. 75 f. and Pl. 2.

[2] April, 1921, vol. iv, No. 1, pp. 25 ff.; see also H. E. Winlock, *Ancient Egypt* (1922), pp. 71 ff.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

INDUSTRIES AND MARKETS

Spinning is, so far as I have yet observed, more often done by men than by women in Egyptian villages, though I have seen one or two women engaged in this occupation. One year, when visiting a tribe of Arabs, I saw more than one woman spinning yarn.

I have referred in previous chapters to two kinds of bread made by the peasant women. Wheat- and *dura*-flour blended, or the latter ingredient only, are used, mixed of course with yeast, and

FIG. 92. SMALL LOOM FOR ADDING BORDERS TO SILK OR COTTON HANDKERCHIEFS AND THE LIKE

water is added till the dough is of the right consistency. The dough is then put to rise in the sun.

When the round, bun-shaped loaves of bread, called *khubz*, are made the dough is formed into cakes of the required size, which are then put to rise in the sun before being baked in the oven (Fig. 94). Wheat-flour is the main ingredient of *khubz*, which is the bread usually eaten by the wealthier peasants.

The making of *battaw* is a more laborious task. When ready for the oven a small dab of fairly moist dough is placed on a large, fan-shaped object made of palm-ribs. The woman then tosses the dough on the fan until it has spread in a thin layer all over it. The 'fan' is then handed to another woman, seated before the mud oven, who slides the flat, round sheet of dough on to the open

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

oven shelf.[1] A large fire, made of dry *dura*-stalks, is kept burning in the furnace below the shelf. When one side of the bread is done the bakeress turns it over with an iron rod (called *ḥashkūr*), made for this purpose, till the other side is cooked. When quite finished she removes it with the aid of the *ḥashkūr* and places it on the ground beside her.

FIG. 93. ARAB WOMAN WEAVING A CARPET

The dough for the *ḥattaw* is usually kneaded in a very large basket, and a great quantity is always made and baked at a time. Thus the task entails many hours of hard labour, and the women often begin the work in the afternoon and continue through the night until daybreak or even later. The baking takes place once or twice a month, and female relatives and friends usually come in to assist. Such bread, if made in a cleanly way, is excellent when fresh. It is crisp and thin, somewhat like the oatcake made in the North of England and in Scotland. No one who has not made the attempt can realize how difficult it is to toss the dough on the 'fan.' I have myself made one or two efforts to assist in this breadmaking, but I made a hopeless failure of it, much to the amusement of my village friends.

Most villages, and all towns, have a weekly market, where a great variety of goods are for sale. The market-place is usually situated just outside the village, and is either Government property or belongs to some private individual. Every one who brings

[1] The oven is open in front, but is covered at the top. The smoke goes up through a hole in the ceiling, which opens on to the flat roof.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Copts MR10

to el-Lâhûn, in Fayûm Province. I photographed them in the monastery precincts after the service had taken place.

The festival of the Epiphany is celebrated by the Copts on either January 18 or 19. On the previous evening the men usually bathe in the Nile, holy water from a church having been poured into the river first. In some places a priest comes to the house of a Copt bringing a supply of holy water with him and also a small silver cross. A number of prayers are recited, and the *Kyrie Eleison* is repeated forty-one times, these repetitions being counted by means of a Coptic rosary, which contains forty-one beads. The whole assembly is then sprinkled with the holy water. This is a substitute for the bathing in the Nile.

On the following day, called *Yôm el-Ghiṭâs*, all the Copts repair to the cemeteries to visit the graves of their dead relatives. This visit is called *et-Ṭala'*, and many of the rites are similar to those observed by the Muslims at their *Ṭala'*. The following is an account of what I have myself witnessed at this ceremony, and is typical of all these celebrations in the country parts of Egypt.

The first thing to catch the eye on arriving at the Coptic cemetery was a large group of women indulging in a curious dance close to some of the graves. It was very similar to the dance after a death described in the chapter on funerary customs, and consisted of a stamping, circular movement, the women being closely packed together the whole time

The cemetery was crowded, and visitors on camels, donkeys, or on foot were constantly arriving. Others, having paid their tribute to the dead, were departing, wending their way to the various villages in the cultivated area. All this time the wailing never ceased. It was, to my mind, the most pathetic sound I had ever heard. The monastery made a picturesque background for the whole scene. Moreover, its walls afforded a welcome shelter from the sun for the horses, donkeys, and camels that were tethered beneath them.

The groups of mourners varied in size, some being quite large and consisting of about twenty people, possibly more. Occasionally a woman could be seen wailing in solitary grief. I noticed one such woman talking to her dead husband through a small hole pierced at one end of the tomb. Coloured silk handkerchiefs, similar to those used at all the funerary ceremonies of the Muslims, were in evidence. The graves, especially those with no super-

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Ancient Egypt MR 5

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANALOGIES

FA 286

Looms like those used by modern Arab women (p. 162 and Fig. 93) are depicted in Twelfth-Dynasty paintings at Beni Hasan and elsewhere [1] (Fig. 177). The modern and ancient (Fig. 173) spindles are hardly to be distinguished from one another.[2]

FA 252

On p. 163 I speak of loaves being put to rise in the sun before

A [285] [113]

FIG. 175. EIGHTEENTH-DYNASTY BASKETS
After W. M. F. Petrie, *Sedment*, Part II, Pl. LV.

being baked. This seems also to have been done in ancient Egypt.[3]

FA 443

The open-air market (pp. 164 ff.) was evidently as distinctive a feature of ancient as it is of modern Egyptian life.[4] The part played by saleswomen in the markets was noticed by Herodotus,[5] and, it would seem, somewhat exaggerated.

FA 241 423

The breaking up of the fields into small squares separated from each other by ridges of earth and narrow trenches (p. 169) is an ancient practice, as we learn both from reliefs and paintings.[6]

[1] See L. Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reichs*, pp. 126 ff.; see also H. E. Winlock, "Heddle-Jacks of Looms" in *Ancient Egypt* (1922), pp. 71 ff.
[2] L. Klebs, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
[3] T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part I, p. 64.
[4] A. Erman and H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 508 f. [5] ii, 35.
[6] See, *e.g.*, P. E. Newberry, *El-Bersheh*, Part I, Pl. XXVI.

A [113]

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

2. In spinning, the thread is often moistened with the lip. 539x

3. To stand at the hearth in a peasant-hut, where the only outlet for the smoke is the door — there is rarely a window — certainly does not promote the beauty of the eyes. [286] [354]

5. It never struck me heretofore, that blond or red hair was considered by the peasant to be especially beautiful; for instead of yellow, someone else said: laḥmar = "red". [826]

6. The body is represented as a plate, on which lie the breasts, the "pomegranates" (Maḥmûd). [826]

Wild Nights.

539x
832

111.

Yasmar, ya lābis ʿagātak,
*Ya mišša*ḥ*laʿ min dān a*ḥ*wātak,*
nuṣṣ el-lēl nismaʿ ḥarakātak,
šēi ginān wil-lēl ma banām!

O brown one with the ivory bracelets,
Who art more graceful than all thy sisters,
Half the night we will listen to thy prattle,
A mad affair, and at night I will not sleep!

2. Išša*ḥ*laʿ refers to the coquettish movements in dancing and walking, which, according to our feeling, are not always refined. Compare 112, 1. The Arabic expressions for "graceful" and "prattle", here used, are not so innocent. [535]